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LANDON

WHAT HE STANDS FOR



The
Republican Presidential Candidate
Interpreted by

HENRY J. ALLEN

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LANDON

WHAT HE STANDS FOR

by
David Hinshaw & others

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"We must ever remember that academic freedom, political freedom, religious freedom and freedom of opportunity are all bound together. Infringement upon one will soon lead to infringement upon the others. In fighting to maintain our freedom we will make greatest progress by fighting for the freedom of all."

From Governor Landon's Chautauqua, N. Y., speech of August 24, 1936.



ALFRED M. LANDON

Foreword

FIVE of the six distinguished men who contribute to this book have known Governor Landon more or less intimately for as long as thirty years. They have known him as an undergraduate at Kansas University, as a business man, as a local political leader, as state chairman, as governor and finally as the presidential nominee of the Republican party. And they have noted with deep satisfaction his sure, steady intellectual and moral growth.

In the following pages the governor's close friends tell something of Landon, boy and man, as they have watched him, worked with him, fought with or occasionally against him during these thirty years. They have not attempted here to write a chronological history of the man; rather they have placed emphasis upon what seems the nation's most important need at the present time, a resurrection of that moral fibre, almost stern and Spartan, which was the primary characteristic of the early days of the republic's life. To that group, distinguished by intellectual integrity as well as fine human qualities, Governor Landon belongs. None of these intimates of the governor places Landon among the great of the earth. But each one emphasizes his belief that those homely standards of common sense, common honesty, moderation, fairness, and frugality which are so much a part of Landon, have prepared him for great public service.

The writers, as men of unusual experience with the machinery of government and exceptional knowledge of how government operates, know that the smartest, smoothest, most plausible man who ever lived, cannot perform a truly great public service for our people unless he accepts those homely, timeless standards; unless he believes in American institutions and democracy. And it also is evident to them that greatness is not measured by mere public stature, but by private and public acts performed from day to day which are never seen or chronicled. In other words, the writers of these appraisals show their lively awareness of the fact that "all that talk about Heaven aint goin' there."

Kansas Carries On the American Tradition

Perhaps the reason which makes Kansas peculiarly the keeper of the ark of American democracy, is that ninety-three per cent of her sons and daughters are native born who are but three generations removed from the idealists and extremists of the nation, north and south. Nearly eighty years ago these idealists and extremists planted themselves with their principles on her prairies to help determine

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whether she should be a free or a slave state. These first settlers, living their ideals, enlisted in the contending armies in great numbers. More of them, per capita, volunteered to fight for their cause than went from any other state. And following the close of the war, due to a generous federal law providing homesteads for ex-soldiers, more Union soldiers settled in Kansas than returned to any other state. These men who had faced the alternatives of life and death in support of a great principle, after their return to civil life, maintained their alert interest in politics and government. They breathed their vital concern with public affairs into the lives of all about them.

Democracy Kept Pure at Its Source

The inevitable result of such a background is that to this day a dominant majority of their grandchildren struggle to keep democracy pure at its source in communities where people live and govern themselves. They look to local government—which they watch constantly and correct when necessary—to care for the needy, for example. Local government in Kansas handles relief. Waste in dollars, in self-respect and in initiative is kept at a minimum because the unfortunate citizen is helped to help himself. A bureaucracy does not attempt to do anything for him. In Kansas, local government, which is a democracy at its source, provides public education for all up through the high school. Her public educational system, which has come out of the hard wrought experiences of the people, rests upon so sound and secure a structure that Kansas is one of the most literate of all the states; more of her farm boys are enrolled in high school than are those of any other state and she has a higher number of college students per thousand than any other state.

It is inevitable, almost, that boys and girls subjected to such standards and principles, should grow into men and women who cling to the truths regarding working and saving that the race has established from three thousand years of trial and error, or that they believe either individuals or nations can find substitutes for self-denial, work and thrift. To them government is the servant; they are the masters. They insist that government curb rapacity and crookedness. They demand that it meet its first and only important obligation, namely to provide efficient and just services.

Life is not easy in Kansas—it presents a constant struggle for existence. Because Kansans have known or observed want at first hand, they abhor waste. Especially do they abhor that waste of public funds which inevitably leads to bigger tax bills and back-breaking burdens for future generations. This realistic attitude does not mean

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that Kansans are satisfied with the status quo; on the contrary they always have sought to make social progress keep in step with sound spiritual and intellectual development.

Next to his spiritual aspiration the most dominant trait of a Kansan is his realism. There is no magic in his life. Never has he seen economic short-cuts work. Since he had tried many governmental experiments and seen some of them wrecked at the hands of impractical idealists, he worshipped Theodore Roosevelt and gloried in his "realizable ideals." He knows that those realizable ideals have furnished the purpose and spirit which transmute common sense, common honesty, plain understanding, moderation and fairness into true greatness. The glory of America always has rested in such homely, everlasting qualities; great leadership always has come from such sources; the hope of democracy lies in their continued application. That is the Kansas philosophy—that is the nature of her spirit.

Landon Not a Wishful Thinker

The interpretation herein of Governor Landon by these five sons of Kansas is flavored by the Kansas spirit. They unconsciously reveal qualities of his which are closely attuned to the state's motto: "To the Stars Through Difficulties." They find no wishful thinking in his make-up or his record. On the other hand, they do find on his part an acceptance of and an adherence to those American institutions which have enabled more people to enjoy greater opportunity, gain more comfort and security than has any other system at any time. Herein lies an evidence of his greatness.

Friends of Governor Landon, recognizing the truth of Ortega's statement "Public life is not solely political, but equally, and even primarily, intellectual, moral, economic, religious," are encouraged in their belief that Governor Landon is thoroughly qualified for the presidency. They believe, too, that under him the American system of government and American institutions will find an able and worthy defender; the European system of centralized bureaucracy, which treats the people as wards of the State, will find an uncompromising opponent.

D. H.

THE BUSINESS MAN IN PUBLIC OFFICE

By DAVID HINSHAW

I WISH to discuss here certain phases of the first one of the two following questions as they relate to Governor Landon's training.

It is my belief that the voters when considering a man for high administrative public office, should ask themselves:

Has he had a successful business career?

Does he have a first-hand, working knowledge of politics and political parties and the part they play in the operation of government.

The man who seeks or is proposed for high administrative public office should qualify on both questions otherwise his public career likely will be a troubled, disappointing one.

In examining the first question,—has he had a successful business career, we will find that the instances are rare where the successful business executive, who has no political training, becomes a great success as a public official. This is as evident as it is inevitable. The successful business executive makes plans, blue prints them, gets money from directors who are business men, and presses a button and directs someone whose job depends upon satisfactory performance to put the plans into effect.

When this same successful business man enters public life, he makes plans, blue prints them and then attempts to get money to carry them out. That money can be had only with the consent of a log-rolling legislative body. When it finally has been secured, he presses a button. The individual who answers the call likely holds his job because of political influence instead of ability, therefore too often fails to carry the plans out successfully.

Political Cross Currents and Rules Thwart Him

In addition to having incompetent or independent assistants, the business man in public life soon is caught in the ebb and flow of political cross currents which he does not understand. And even when he comes to understand these mysterious human forces he cannot immediately make great headway because of the rules and restraints the people have created to protect themselves from designing men and tyrants. Before he understands the nature and purpose of these

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rules and restraints he will have discovered that they are hopelessly bound up in red tape. The public career of the business trained executive thus is thwarted largely because he is unfamiliar with governmental and political machinery.

What About The Politician In Public Office?

If the able business executive frequently fails in public office because he is unfamiliar with political and governmental machinery, it might be assumed that the successful politician would be certain to make a marvelous record as a public administrator. This does not follow because the man in public administrative office who is only a politician brings to his job only the arts of politics. And the man who brings only political training to administrative public office is nearly as badly equipped for the job as is the man who brings only business training.

The politically trained man entering public life tries to adjust political expediency, partisan spoils, and the rules and red tape of government to business principles and practices. This inevitably happens. There could be no other result because he either is wholly unfamiliar with business principles and practices or else he refuses to let them interfere with his purpose to secure political power or partisan spoils.

It is my belief that those men who have had a successful business career and who also have gained at first hand a working knowledge of political party organization practices are the ones who are most certain to serve the people best. How could it be otherwise since the operation of government is a business that is directed through the machinery of a political party?

Governor Landon's business success is known to all. He knows what to expect from men because he has hired and worked alongside hundreds of them. He has had to be a realist because payrolls had to be met. These experiences will enable him to bring a stability of purpose and a sense of reality to the White House.

Since the Democrats will have a majority in the Senate during the next four years, it is evident that no Republican president, unless he is astute in the ways of politics and politicians could render distinguished public service against such conditions—witness Al Smith's record as governor of New York. Henry Allen, in the following article convincingly shows that Governor Landon is astute in the ways of politics and politicians.

HENRY J. ALLEN

SHORTLY after Henry J. Allen was graduated from a Kansas college he bought a struggling weekly newspaper in a small Kansas town. He turned it into a success in a few years and sold it at a substantial profit. He then bought a tottering daily newspaper in a somewhat larger Kansas town. In time it also prospered and he sold it for a still larger profit. He next bought a daily newspaper in Wichita, the second largest city in Kansas. And after a time he sold it, also at a profit. Today he is publisher of the Topeka State Journal.

In addition to his remarkable success as a newspaper publisher Mr. Allen has served Kansas as governor and as United States senator. He has been publicity director of two presidential campaigns. And he has been one of the leading orators of his party in the nation for twenty-five years. He thus has won national fame in many fields.

In one capacity or another Henry Allen has met and talked with the leading statesmen of the world during the past thirty years. He knows men,—he knows politics,—he knows government,—he knows what it takes to make a really good president. He has known Governor Landon for thirty years. No one is better qualified than Mr. Allen to predict the kind of president Governor Landon will make.

GOVERNOR LANDON KNOWS POLITICS

By HENRY J. ALLEN

When it was suggested that I discuss Governor Landon's practical political qualifications, I was shocked. It has been so long the habit, in talking about Presidential candidates, to climb up on stilts, that it didn't seem to be quite according to pattern that we should deal with the candidate's aptitude for politics.

You cannot grow starry-eyed and polysyllabled about the simple capacity of a man to understand the active political game upon which the very control of our government is founded. I can even remember when we have sought to make a virtue out of a candidate's political ineptitude and inexperience.

Has Occupied All the Chairs

Now we have a candidate who, to borrow the language of the well known brotherhood, has occupied all the chairs.

He began active political life as a precinct committee man, and was graduated, after a service which took him through petty activities of the party, into the chairmanship of the Republican State Committee. Here he distinguished himself by bringing his party to victory in a hard contest which required brains, industry, and a fine sense of organization.

His management was a model of logical deduction, of good taste, persuasive presentation, and effective party vigilance. His successful organization included the task of choosing the right man for the right place and seeing to it that each unit of the organization functioned properly in the work to which it was directed.

For the first time in a generation in Kansas, the Republican Party of this state is without factional difficulties. This is due altogether to the calm and steady hand which Governor Landon has laid upon the party activities during the years preceding his election as Governor and since.

Men have called him a harmonizer, but he has been something broader than that. He has been just, honest, and reasonable with every element in the party, and his ambition seems to have been to

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bring every useful man into a working relationship and to make him feel an individual responsibility for party success.

Would the qualities so strikingly presented by Governor Landon in his successful experience as the State Chairman of his party be useful in the White House?

In other words, would it help a President to know the various types of men who serve politics from the precinct to the top of the organization; to have an opportunity to appraise them as a chairman must appraise them, so that he can distinguish between the effectives and the non-effectives. Would it help a President to know the petty pretentious fakirs, the more solemn humbugs, the ingratiating sycophants, and the other types of parasites who crowd themselves into the foreground of a President's vision, seeking by trained ways to catch his eye and attract his favor?

Would his ability to select the right type grow from his ripe knowledge of all the types? Does a man's love and reverence for his government increase as he becomes better acquainted with the frail parts against which he must protect it?

Character and Common Sense In Politics

It occurs to me, as I think this over, that the character and common sense which have entered into Governor Landon's experience are typical of a modern development of politics, using that word in the best sense. The old fashioned notion that "political cunning" is necessary to political management, is receding into the background. Because of the increasing political understanding of the individual voter, you cannot soft soap him. He senses insincerity and false logic. And so, political management has come to demand the high place which the real meaning of democracy emphasizes. The political system is, after all, the foundation of a representative government which must run level with the character and intelligence of the component parts of the government.

Therefore it is important to a President that he should go into the White House with a working knowledge of our political system. I am even convinced that no man is fully equipped to hold high administrative public office who has not served in the ranks of his party organization and has come to know from first hand contact and experience what goes on in a precinct committeeman's mind.

He must know how to make government properly responsive to the honest machinery of the party. He must know the importance of that party's action in fulfilling its pledges and keeping its oaths. He must know the importance which exists in this modern day of

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the political party placing itself upon the high ground which should belong to this parent effort of a people's government.

Political Party the Instrumentality Not the Goal of Government

Governor Landon possesses the experience that makes him conscious all the time of the necessity of an honest and effective party organization, capable of being responsible for the acts of a government carried on in the party's name.

He knows the fundamental truth that the party is the instrumentality and not the goal of government. It exists for the government, and not the government for the party.

Therefore it is my belief that the training revealed in the record of Governor Landon in precinct, county, and state political organizations has strengthened him immeasurably for the position as head of his party, which, in its highest sense, the President must be.

All this experience, of course, has been incidental. It merged into and became a part of the record he has made as a wise effective and understanding Governor. It alone would not equip him to be President of the United States, but it does provide an element of education which blends into his other qualifications to give him a strength peculiarly useful in the great office to which he seems destined.

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While Landon has been called the Kansas Coolidge, and he has many of the Yankee qualities and much of the practical political wisdom Coolidge possessed, he reminds me far more of Grover Cleveland. He has Cleveland's rugged qualities of character, his bull dog tenacity, his slow honest mind and his fine courage. And, too, he has Cleveland's passionate desire for effective, honest administration of the people's business. He unyieldingly believes that we cannot preserve our form of government unless we reduce the number of federal government employees drastically. It is not only that the waste of taxpayer funds make every unnecessary public servant a threat against free institutions; Governor Landon recognizes that that useless cog in the bureaucratic machine inevitably heralds the fascist state.

D. H.

MALCOLM W. BINGAY

MALCOLM W. BINGAY, the managing editor of the *Detroit Free Press*, is the only one of the six men contributing to this interpretation of Governor Landon who is not a long time friend. The value of disinterested appraisal, therefore, belongs to his penetrating analysis and comparison of the candidates of the two major political parties. This analysis and comparison, whose perspective is devoid of friendship or antipathy for either candidate, is the most effective thing of its kind that has been done. In it the two candidates are stripped of frills, their characters truly revealed.

Because he is a careful, accurate observer of public affairs as well as an astute judge of men, Mr. Bingay relates the deep, underlying issues of the campaign to the character and personalities of the candidates. His article shows that he sees and understands trends and qualities that are significant and important, long before they are visible to the rest of us.

"WE" AND "I"

By MALCOLM W. BINGAY

(IN THE DETROIT FREE PRESS)

NO two men ever faced each other as Presidential opponents who were such complete opposites in personality, temperament and political technique as Alfred M. Landon and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The fact that Landon is the complete antithesis of Roosevelt may have had something to do with his appeal to the imagination of the people. Contrast is the essence of all drama and as the most dramatic struggle of modern times in our Republic unfolds, these striking dissimilarities will reveal themselves vividly.

In only one instance do their lives touch common ground, both spring from pre-Revolutionary colonial stock. In all else they are poles apart.

Carved His Own Career

Landon carved out his own career. In the most competitive of American businesses, as an independent oil producer he won his way and earned, by physical and mental labor and by sound business principles, a comfortable fortune.

Roosevelt was born to wealth and has lived the life of the landed gentry. His career has been that of private tutors, the ultra exclusive Groton School for boys (an imitation of England's Eton) and Harvard. Born to the "aristocracy" he never knew what it was to earn a dollar in all his life at competitive business. His Hyde Park estate is the closest thing we have in America to the baronial existence of old England.

Both men have been governors of their respective states for two terms. Their careers as governors will be well checked during the campaign.

Landon, with hard business sense, balanced the Kansas budget, got his state out of the red on a pay-as-you-go policy and gave to Kansas one of the most progressive and efficient administrations of any state in the Union.

Roosevelt accomplished nothing in his two terms as governor of New York, devoting all his energies toward the Presidency. He left office with the debt of his state doubled.

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Roosevelt Is Flamboyant

Roosevelt is flamboyant, theatrical, striving always to create a startling effect.

Landon is quiet, never makes a move without purpose, never talks unless he has something to say. Artificiality is repugnant to him.

Roosevelt laughs and smiles all the time, Landon only when he is amused.

Students of history will search the state papers and the speeches and writings of Franklin D. Roosevelt in vain for any concrete expression of thought, any coherent outline of program.

Landon's state papers and speeches are full of meat. He never writes or speaks without thinking through to a logical conclusion what he plans to do. He detests indirection. He wants facts—all the facts—so that he can speak plainly and clearly, and he wants everybody to distinctly understand what he means.

Roosevelt, on the other hand, delights in leaving everybody who consults with him in doubt as to just where he stands. At no time in his three years in the White House have even his Congressional leaders ever been able to state definitely where he stood on any issue.

Vagueness Versus Clearness

Roosevelt delights in being vague, ambiguous; Landon takes great pains to make sure that he is clearly understood.

Roosevelt has spent his whole career in dealing with dazzling and glittering generalities, leaving every faction to guess at what he really meant and, in a rosy blanket of platitudes, satisfying each and every one that favored his side.

Landon speaks plainly, emphatically, frankly and honestly so that when he is through with a conference there is no question in anybody's mind where he stands on the issue at hand.

Roosevelt's friends delight in telling of how smart he is in outwitting and tricking his opponents. Always it is a duel of wits.

Landon's friends say that his greatest attribute is his sincere, direct simplicity; he does not try to fool anybody, friend or opponent.

Roosevelt's political technique is that of a great scenic artist. He paints pictures that look beautiful from a distance but which will not bear close inspection. Landon insists on drawing up a workable blueprint.

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Both Attracted to the New

Roosevelt is fascinated, sincerely, by anything that is new just because it is "new." Landon is immediately interested in anything new that is suggested to him but wants to test it to see whether it will work before indorsing it. Therein lies the greatest fundamental difference between the two men.

The airy evasiveness that is part of the Roosevelt make-up leads him into constant controversy with all who work with him. Never making himself clear on any issue, he is constantly misunderstood by factions of his own support and every department head of his Administration is at war with some other bureaucrat. The Ickes-Hopkins feud is only one of many hundreds.

Landon believes in harmony of effort. He reunited the warring factions of Kansas Republicans and even brought to his support thoughtful citizens of the Democratic faith.

Roosevelt uses the pronoun "I" until his papers and speeches take on the appearance of a picket fence. Landon always says "We" and gets team-work and cooperation out of all those who are around him.

Their Attitude on Revenge

Roosevelt has developed an established reputation for seeking revenge on those who oppose him and pursues them with relentless and ruthless vigor. Landon is altogether impersonal in his judgments. Without personal vanity, he does not expect all men to agree with him. Roosevelt deals only with personalities; Landon only with principles.

Roosevelt is not the studious type. None of his state papers or speeches reveals any depth of scholarship. His forte is purely political. Landon is a deep student of history and an omnifarious reader of good books. Roosevelt depends upon his secretaries and others for background information; Landon draws such material from his own well-stored mind. (Landon would never say, for example, as Roosevelt did at that famous Jackson day dinner, that Jackson was "loved for the enemies he had made" when all the world knows that it was Cleveland who was "loved for the enemies he had made"—Tammany Hall).

Roosevelt charms, dazzles, fascinates, then repels—as the long, long list of those who were once with him and then "took a walk" makes all too clear. Landon, on the other hand, does not dazzle. He inspires confidence that grows through the years as is attested by the lifelong friends he has made. They may disagree with him but

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they never break with him because they have complete faith in his sincerity.

Views on Life Differ

Roosevelt looks upon all life as a joyous lark; Landon looks upon life with deep earnestness when the problems of groping mankind are under consideration. He knows what it means to bend his back in toil. He knows the value of an earned dollar.

Roosevelt, the aristocrat of Hyde Park, has a great expressed sympathy for the mass of mankind, but he has never rubbed shoulders with the toilers in the factories and the fields. Landon is one of them. He speaks the language of the man in the street without affectation. His speech is direct and simple; and it is impelling because it is understandable. He resorts to facts instead of rhetoric.

To sit and watch both of these men smoke a cigaret is in itself a study of two strangely opposite characters.

When Roosevelt smokes a cigaret it is an act. He waves his arms above his head as though the thing were a conductor's baton. He puffs out his cheeks, throws back his head and blows the smoke toward the ceiling, then laughs, and smirks and winks; waves his arms and blows again. One moment he has a cigaret holder and the next his cigaret is held in his fingers. The ashes are constantly being flicked even when there is no ash.

Smokes With Enjoyment

Landon smokes a cigaret with the air of a man who enjoys smoking a cigaret. He lights it and holds it with a minimum of effort. You are hardly conscious of the fact that he is smoking. He handles a cigar with the same quiet relish, but his old pipe is his favorite. When he gets that pipe between his teeth it stays there as evenly and quietly as though it were a part of his face.

A conference with Roosevelt becomes a monologue. He does all the talking and is too impatient to listen, even though he has asked for an opinion. He interrupts before a thought has been half finished.

Landon has a positive genius as a listener. He listens sympathetically and interestedly until the speaker has finished and then by intelligent questioning draws him on further.

Roosevelt is boisterously effusive in his greeting; Landon is gravely courteous with a quiet naturalness that puts a visitor immediately at ease.

Roosevelt is quick-tempered and flies off at a tangent when he does not have his way; Landon never loses his head, always keeping his anger under control.

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Roosevelt vacillates, changing his plans with his moods. Landon clings to fundamental principles and never deviates from them, holding to whatever program he has set out to accomplish with dogged persistency.

Roosevelt delights in dictating; Landon conciliates by sound reasonableness. Roosevelt, in his personal dealings, has the arrogance of the born aristocrat; Landon wins men by a spirit of comradeship. Roosevelt drives; Landon leads.

Roosevelt has wit but no sense of humor; Landon is not given to witticisms but has an abiding sense of humor. Landon enjoys comedy; Roosevelt the wisecrack.

You have a feeling all the time that you are in the presence of Roosevelt that he is acting a part.

You have a feeling when you are with Landon that he is just being himself.

If the God of our Republic's destiny has reached down among us to bring forth a man to save the American system—so that "Government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth"—then He has chosen Alfred M. Landon, so that the people, by striking contrasts, will be able to see the difference.

No two men were ever more complete opposites.

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"For the first time since it was founded this newspaper will support a Republican candidate for President.

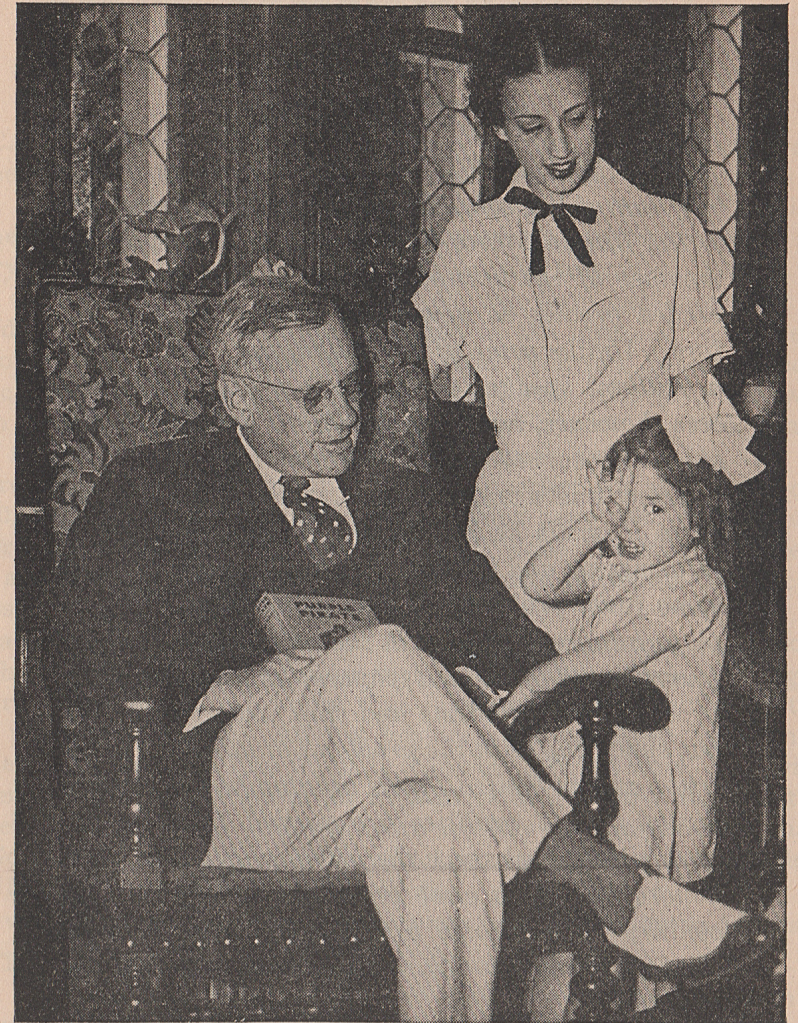
"There is one issue which overshadows all others in this campaign—an issue which cannot be avoided and upon which the two major parties are sharply divided.

"The Democratic party, under the New Deal, has abandoned its traditional policy of State's rights and has adopted as a major objective a series of hybrid measures, which would regulate industry, labor and agriculture, would enter into competition with various lines of private enterprise, would control banking and credit, would regiment distress and bring Federal domination into every community, regardless of size or location."

F. W. Boyd, Editor Phillips County Review and former
Chairman Democratic County Committee, Phillipsburg, Kansas.

GOVERNOR LANDON'S HISTORY

- 1650—The Landon American line began with New England farmers who came to this country from England.
- 1790—First maternal forebear of the Republican Presidential nominee to come to the United States was John Mossman, a Scotchman.
- 1887—Alfred M. Landon, born in West Middlesex, Pa., on September 9th, at the home of his grandfather, Rev. W. H. Mossman, a Methodist minister.
- 1904—Was graduated from Marietta Academy, Ohio. The Landon family moved to Kansas. Landon enrolled in Liberal Arts Course, Kansas University, and at the end of one year entered the Law School.
- 1908—Was graduated from the Kansas University Law School, then returned to his home in Independence, Kansas, and worked in a bank for the next three years.
- 1911—Entered the oil business.
- 1914—Elected Bull Moose County Chairman of Montgomery County.
- 1915—Married Margaret Fleming.
- 1917—Peggy Anne Landon born.
- 1918—Margaret Fleming Landon died. Landon joined the Army as 1st Lieutenant in the Chemical Warfare Service, stationed at Lakehurst, N. J.
- 1922—Served as Secretary to Governor Henry J. Allen.
- 1928—Elected Chairman Kans. Republican State Committee.
- 1930—Married Theo Cobb, of Topeka, Kansas.
- 1931—Nancy Jo Landon born.
- 1932—Nominated for Governor by Republicans and was the only Republican Governor to be elected in Mississippi Valley.
John Cobb Landon born.
- 1934—Only Republican Governor re-elected in the United States.
- 1936—Nominated for President Cleveland Convention.



GOVERNOR LANDON AND HIS DAUGHTERS, PEGGY ANNE AND NANCY JO

LANDON AND AGRICULTURE

By ARTHUR CAPPER

ARTHUR CAPPER

A RTHUR CAPPER, who has served as governor of Kansas, will soon enter his fourth term in the United States Senate. He is an important member of the group of Kansans who have succeeded greatly as newspaper publishers and editors. Unlike some of his colleagues he is neither a brilliant speaker nor a facile writer. His success, however, has been great. It rests upon his sincerity, earnestness, understanding and ability to select and work with men. Through his many farm journals he has become a clearing house of information and a leader in attacking the troublesome farm problems of this generation. He employs hundreds of men in the publication of these journals and of his newspapers; he has made their problems his problems and thus understands and has sympathy with the problems of labor. As governor and as United States senator he has learned directly what qualities are needed to make our government best serve the whole people fairly and honorably. As a close friend for a quarter of a century he has come to know Governor Landon through and through. He knows whereof he speaks.

I CAN vouch for Governor Landon of Kansas, Republican nominee for President, to the farmers of America. Alf Landon is more than sympathetic, more than friendly, more than just willing to help bring about an equality between agriculture and industry. He has a real understanding of the important factors in that collection of problems known as the farm problem, and if placed in the White House he will lead in the formulation and execution of a comprehensive practical farm program, based on economic and social—not partisan political—lines. His program will be to help farmers help themselves. He will seek to bring back their foreign markets which have been almost destroyed. And he will restore to our farmers the domestic market for the food from 25,000,000 acres of American farm land which have been turned over to foreign farmers. When this has been done American farmers once again will provide meat, flour, grains and butter for American homes.

I have known Governor Landon for a quarter of a century. I know that his word is good. I know that his sympathy with the plight of agriculture is real. I know that his basic understanding of the farm problem is sound. All his business life has been spent in a business that brought him in daily contact with farmers, and with farmers' progress. No governor of Kansas in our time has had the problems of agriculture brought more forcibly to his attention than has Governor Landon during the past four years. And I know that what Landon says he will do, he will do.

So when I heard Governor Landon say in his acceptance address:

"The wealth of our soil must be preserved. We shall establish effective soil conservation and erosion control policies in connection with a national land use and flood prevention program—and keep it all out of politics," . . .

I know that the full force of a Landon administration when Governor Landon becomes President Landon, will be used to accomplish that program.

Puts Full Confidence In Landon's Farm Program

When Governor Landon says that "Our farmers are entitled to all of the home market they can supply without injustice to the consumer," and "We propose a policy that protects them in this right," I know that such a policy will be put into effect by President Landon.

Likewise I can put my full confidence in the Landon farm program when Governor Landon says, as he said in his acceptance speech:

"Some farmers, dependent in part upon foreign markets, suffer from disadvantages arising from world disorder. Until these disadvantages are eliminated we propose to pay cash benefits in order to cushion our farm families against the disastrous effects of price fluctuations and to protect their standard of living."

Likewise I know that under a Landon national administration drouth sufferers will be fully provided for. Here is his pledge:

"The American people, now as always, are responsive to distress caused by disasters, such as the present drouth. Our platform reflects that spirit. We shall fulfill its pledge to give every reasonable assistance to producers in areas suffering from such temporary afflictions, so that they may again get on a self-supporting basis."

Favors Family Type of Farm

I know that Alfred Landon keeps his word; and when he uses the following language, I know that he means it. I can assure every farmer in America, every citizen in America that the Landon national policy toward agriculture and the nation in relation to agriculture will be based on the following principles:

"Our farm program as a whole will be made to serve a vital national purpose.

"The family type of farm has long constituted one of the cherished foundations of our social structure. It represents human values that we must not lose. Widespread ownership of moderate sized tracts of land was the aim of the Republican homestead act. This conception of agriculture is one phase of the general principle that we stand for—preserving freedom of opportunity in every walk of life.

"The benefits which will be paid under our program will go no higher than the production level of the family type of farm."

Governor Landon's real concern centers on this family type of farm because he knows it has been the true source of the nation's strength.

I also found out, years ago, that Governor Landon and myself were, and still are, in complete agreement that the disparity in income between agriculture and industry has reached the place where agriculture is entitled to government help and that such help will be in the public interest.

"We are in such difficult straits that in my judgment we must have help from government," Governor Landon told me in 1933, soon after he became governor. "I think there is much that government can do in providing long term credit at a low rate of interest but we must not forget that borrowed money, even though furnished by government, must be paid eventually."

Bankruptcy Inevitable If Expenditures Continuously Exceed Income

I believe every farmer realizes that an institution, whether it be public or private, which continuously spends beyond its income, will go bankrupt. When a nation goes bankrupt, its people suffer. Even if the extravagant expenditures are reduced before actual bankruptcy is reached, every farmer knows that excessive government spendings mean higher and higher taxes—and that in spite of all efforts to place the burden somewhere else, most of the taxes are paid finally out of the land.

Governor Landon is the foe of reckless government spending. But he is the friend of governmental services where these are desirable and justified.

"We too often think that reducing our taxes means reducing the services we expect, and in fact need and require from government," he said to me once, "when as a matter of fact, our problems are to reduce our taxes and have services at the same time that are more comprehensive."

Alf Landon believes in the "pay as you go" plan for both government and business, as distinguished from unlimited borrowings. I am convinced that one of the great services he can and will render to agriculture, as well as to the country as a whole, will be to bring to an end this era of excessive government spending and excessive borrowing, and do these things without dispensing with necessary government services, or denying relief where relief is needed.

I unqualifiedly recommend Governor Landon of Kansas to the farmers of the country as my choice for the next President of the United States.

ROY ROBERTS

ROY ROBERTS is managing editor of the *Kansas City Star*, one of the few really great newspapers in the United States. The life-long friendship between him and Governor Landon began at Kansas University. While Landon followed his career in the oil fields, Roberts was working as a reporter on the *Star*. His intelligence, industry and integrity shortly made him Washington correspondent. In the nation's capital, he learned the ins and outs of Congress,—the part the President plays in the operation of our federal government,—who the big men are and what qualities make them big. This training helped him to become a keen judge of men. It enables him to be the successful editor of a great, liberal, crusading newspaper dedicated to the public good. It qualifies him to write as one with authority when he gives an estimate of Governor Landon.

LANDON THE LEADER —YOUTH AND MAN

By ROY ROBERTS

AT 11 o'clock in the morning of July 7, 1936 the Kansas Legislature assembled in special session to submit amendments that would enable the state, if its people so voted in November, to participate in social security as framed and administered by the federal government.

At 12 o'clock noon of July 9, 1936—just forty-nine hours later—the Kansas legislature adjourned, its major work completed and only routine matters left for the attention required by law in a few subsequent days.

The prompt action, the direct procedure and the results obtained in accordance with announced intentions are a reflection of the character and leadership capacity of Alfred M. Landon, governor of Kansas and Republican nominee for President of the United States.

It required political courage and frank and open dealing to call the state legislature into special session at the given time and for the specified purpose. Social security had fallen into the maelstrom of partisan controversy, and the governor of Kansas, as the nominee of his party, could have played safe simply by postponing action. Furthermore, the governor's own party had but scant majorities in both houses of the legislature and Democratic members of the body easily could have caused trouble and embarrassment to the Republican nominee by objecting to the program advanced, prolonging the special session, running up its costs, using the floor for criticism of the Landon state administration and the like.

Landon Led—Did Not Drive—the Legislature

But Alfred M. Landon previously had expressed himself sympathetic with the principle and objective of social security and he was not the man to hedge, to hesitate and to ignore his formerly declared position. He called the session. He laid before it, briefly and candidly, his opinion as to what should be done, used his influence to reconcile party differences and to expedite procedure—then left the legislature

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undisturbed to choose its own course and to exercise its own function under the constitution of the state.

There were partisan flare-ups in the short session, measured by hours rather than days or weeks or possibly months. But when the final votes were taken on the two amendments to be submitted to the people of Kansas, the house stood unanimously in favor and the senate recorded but a single vote in opposition.

The incident is further typical of the character and leadership of Landon as related to the other and regular state legislative sessions during the two terms he has been governor of a typical prairie state.

Gets Program Adopted and Kept Promises

In the legislature that convened at the beginning of the first Landon administration, the two parties were divided almost evenly. A nominal majority of two in each house was not an actual majority for Landon and the Republicans, for the two members in each instance were Brinkley men—elected in the three-cornered contest of 1932 when Landon, in a Democratic landslide last year, defeated his Democratic predecessor in office, Harry H. Woodring, and the goatgland “specialist” Dr. John R. Brinkley.

But then, as later, partisan differences were reconciled, the Landon leadership prevailed and the legislature moved promptly and forthrightly to redeem Republican party and state candidate pledges that had been made in the campaign. It moved to enactment of measures since called to national attention—the cash basis law, the new budget law and the tax limitation law.

It was a reflection of the dependable, the capable, the trustworthy leadership of Landon—Landon, the man of character, who had made his promises and would see them kept. Landon, the man of balance, sanity, discretion, who recognized the needs of his state and its people and taxpayers—Landon, who had healed factions within his own party and, because of his integrity and forthrightness had been able to command the respect of partisan opposition.

Has Solid Qualities of Character

But the revealing truth of the Landon record in public office goes farther back, much farther. It is found in the character of his forebears in Pennsylvania and early American history, in the solid qualities of his parents, John M. Landon and Anne Mossman Landon. It is found in the frankness, the candor, the capacity for friendship, the honesty, the industry, the thrift, the broad sympathy for humanity that Alf Landon exhibited from his earliest years—first in his birth-

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place at West Middlesex, Pa., then at his boyhood home at Marietta, O., then as a youth in the University of Kansas at Lawrence, then as a bank employee in Independence, Kan., then as an independent operator in the oil fields, then as a worker and modest aspirant to honors in his own party in the Sunflower State.

Landon understood the meaning of thrift, good management and the value of money when at the age of 9 he entered the poultry “business” at Marietta with a capital of a dozen hens. He made the business a success.

Alf Landon displayed ambition and revealed an inquiring mind when he became recognized by his teachers as one of the brightest pupils in the Marietta Academy; when he became an avid reader, especially of history, learning early from the past and painful experience of the race that change and progress must come slowly, not overnight, not by some hocus pocus, magic or panacea.

Has Deep Sense of Responsibility

Those of us who were fellow students of Landon's in college were impressed with his sense of responsibility in the use of money, especially other people's money. We noted too, that Alf was careful not to take advantage of an individual checking account allowed him by his father. We recognized that he was a “good manager” as well as a natural leader.

Alf's financial talents became especially evident when as president of his fraternity, the Phi Gamma Delta, he put the chapter on a sound business basis. It had been customary for the chapter treasurer to follow the loose system of keeping his own personal accounts with those of the organization. We observed that he wanted a reform of this procedure at once. It came. The accounts thereafter were kept separate—and an improved form of chapter bookkeeping was introduced. Then Alf put the organization on a rigid budget, and kept it there.

I can testify that Landon's precept always has been “Never spend what you do not have.” As a boy, youth, bank employee, independent oil producer, he was honest to the core with money. It has been said that Alf would go as far to pay a dollar he owed as to collect a dollar due him. I know that in his extended oil field experience he kept regular and detailed accounts of every penny received and expended, and that he still keeps such accounts.

Broad Sympathies and Legion of Friends

Scrupulous in personal and in public affairs, Landon is neither narrow in his sympathies nor reserved in his friendships. I speak from

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an intimate acquaintance running over more than thirty years. Perhaps no man in Kansas could count a longer list of friends, from college days to the present. Perhaps no man who has entered public life has been more loyal in his personal relationships or commanded a higher degree of real affection from the ever increasing number of people who have had some intimate contact with him as he has risen steadily into prominence. Those who know him but differ with him politically are agreed that he is a most likable fellow, warm, human, sincere, genuine.

Landon's wider sympathies and deep human qualities have been displayed in his previously mentioned stand for social security. The Republican nominee is not for the particular social security plan that has been enacted. He is convinced that the work was too hastily done, that it attempts too much in some directions and not enough in others and that it needs drastic revision, then responsible and non-political administration, to make it the source of security to men, women and children that it should be. But he is fully for the dependable sort of social security.

Favors Relief for Needy—Against It for Jobholders

He is likewise for relief where it is needed—which does not mean political jobholders. He is for relief to the deserving unemployed—no more, no less. An instance of his sincerity and his desire to keep politics out of this humanitarian use of public funds was his retention of a Kansas state relief director who had been appointed by his Democratic predecessor in office, Harry Woodring. The director John G. Stutz had been competent in performance of his official duties, and Landon saw no reason why he should be displaced. So the official is still retained.

To his other qualities—which cannot include showmanship, a flare for the dramatic, for flourish, phrase making and demagogic appeals, to class feeling and prejudice—must be added the quality of courage and decisive action as the occasion may demand. This is illustrated by the now familiar Finney bond scandal in Kansas. The Finneys, father and son, were socially and financially prominent in the state, and the father was a political power; also, along with the son, a friend of Landon's.

In the middle of the first year of the governor's first term the shocking discovery was made that in the state treasury were several hundred thousands of dollars in forged municipal bonds. They had found their way there through the collusion of the state treasurer. The bond forger proved to be Ronald Finney, the son for whom the father,

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friend and political supporter of the governor, promptly interceded. But Landon could not allow friendship, personal or political, to interfere with his duty as a public official. The Finney banks were ordered closed and their assets seized. The governor placed the treasurer's office under martial law, audits were begun and the processes of complete exposure, accounting, trial, conviction and punishment of the guilty went forward to the end. No single act of Landon's commanded more public respect and support.

So the man of decision, of courage, of leadership, of honesty, of rigid integrity, of a sense of private and public responsibility in the handling of money, of loyal friendships, of broad sympathies and of deep, human qualities, returned to the people the next year, 1934—again a Democratic year in the nation—and by them was returned to office by a majority of more than 60,000 votes, twenty times the majority he had received when first elected. That was the testimony of Kansas to the character and the capacity of Alfred M. Landon.

I know Landon's social outlook is forward. But he is realistic. He knows that human rights and property rights are inextricably interwoven. And he would oppose, I believe, government exploitation of honestly acquired property just as quickly as he would oppose economic exploitation of individuals. His record as an administrator, as a party leader and as a typical American should serve to help make him an able president. His growth, which has been slow—more like an oak—nevertheless has been sure; his integrity, his determination, and his sense of justice could make him a great president. But this is important; his record proves that he would gather about him men of size, integrity and high ideals and he would lean upon them instead of trying to do the job alone. The presidency is too big a job for any man to run without the help of big experienced men.

D. H.

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE is of the best Kansas tradition. Spiritually, he is the state's first citizen, her greatest joy and pride. His devotion to the public good and his interest in political, social and economic movements, furnish living proof that if you scratch a Kansan you will find a politician. No man in America is more competent than he to analyze and interpret such movements. His forty year record of forthright, courageous, downright honest expression has never been tainted with political expediency. Never has he worn any man's collar.

As a civic leader in a fine American community, as the writer of editorials and magazine articles, as the author of novels and as an intimate and confidant of many presidents, cabinet members and lesser mortals, Mr. White is profoundly wise in the ways of men. His interpretation of Governor Landon carries his splendid sincerity, his deep understanding and his fine fairness.

REVEALING LANDON, —THE MAN

By WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

THIS is the story of the heart of the man, Alfred Landon, whom I have known since his youth. His political record doesn't matter here. That is merely a reflection of his personality. Trying to find a phrase that would describe him, I decided that "cordial modesty" or "modest cordiality" would do it. These two qualities distinguish him. At bottom beneath the surface of this modest cordiality or cordial modesty are iron girders of self-reliance. He listens, he smiles, he takes counsel, and grins. Then having made up his mind, he is stubborn and hard to move. Colonel Theodore Roosevelt was like that. If one caught the elder Roosevelt in the flux of a decision he moved this way or that. But after he had decided the cement of his opinion became conviction. It was set and hard. So it is with Alfred Landon. I suppose the inner quality which forms that exterior of modest cordiality is tolerance. I have never found him a grudge bearer, never found him believing witch stories about his friends or his enemies. His open mind rejects injustice. It takes an equal or a superior to make him mad. Since his nomination, I heard him work for ten minutes with the telephone operator trying to make her do something to which he was entirely entitled and for which he had complete authorization. It was of routine. In the ten long, patient minutes of the contest, he never lifted his voice—never whined. Always a grin gashed his face as he talked. In the end he got what he wanted. A dozen years ago when the Republican and Democratic candidates for governor of Kansas were indorsed by the Ku Klux Klan, I went out in a protest campaign to give the Jews, and the Catholics, the Negroes and those citizens who hated bigotry some one to vote for. Without any solicitation, Landon joined my forces. He owed me nothing but he couldn't endure injustice quietly, so he lent what political strength he had to the cause of tolerance.

Ordered Militia to Treat Both Sides Fairly

Two or three years ago, the county attorney and the acting sheriff of one of the mining counties of Kansas called on Governor Landon to

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send the militia to quell what the acting sheriff and the county attorney thought were dangerous strike disorders. The request was official and mandatory. Before sending the troops there, Governor Landon called in the officers of the militia and told them to be absolutely fair, to give the miners all their rights of free speech and free assemblage and to treat the mine owners as the miners were treated. So the militia went down, disarmed the mine guards, sent them away, told the striking miners they could picket, that they could hold their union meetings or any other meetings they wanted to discuss the strike, that their organizers were welcome and left no question as to Landon's attitude about the rights of labor in time of strike.

When he said in his letter to Norman Thomas that he believed in guaranteeing to labor all its civil rights in time of strike and that he believed that workers in a mine or factory had a right to send for an organizer from the outside and listen to his side of the case and join any kind of a union, they wanted to join, Landon had his own gubernatorial record to back his words. It was this tolerance which is reflected as cordial modesty or modest cordiality in the surface of his contacts with men which has made his record. No table-pounding executive is he. I never heard him lift his voice in our thirty years of acquaintance and friendship. He has great capacity for indignation, as shown by his love of tolerance. This is a paradox but deeply true of all men. It is the quiet men who hate evil most bitterly.

"Academic Freedom . . . Must Be Maintained"

Two years ago we were on a commencement program together at Kansas University. I heard him say "academic freedom is one of the most precious things we have in this country. It must be maintained." And that was fine. But the fine thing about it was that he had backed his words by deeds. The year before some powerful business interests of Kansas, Missouri, and Oklahoma protested certain statements of Professor John Ise at the University of Kansas. Ise was one of those free speaking college professors who had written a book that was not altogether flattering about one branch of American industry. So, naturally, those who disagreed with him called him a communist and demanded his removal. Landon made short shift of the complaint. He addressed his critics in these words on the Governor's stationery:

"Under the academic freedom which we practice here in Kansas, we do not attempt to control the thinking of the members of the faculties of our state institutions. John Ise has been on the faculty of the University of Kansas for twenty or twenty-five years."

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Still the protests kept coming, and again the Governor wrote a similar letter to Robert Moody, president of the First National Bank at Tulsa. A group of teachers gathered in Topeka and listened to the Governor talk about educational matters. He told them:

"I have no patience with those who hold that because teachers are public servants they should have no voice in public affairs. Who better than those who have built an institution (meaning democracy) are in a position to understand its aims and needs?"

And again he repeated the same thing in a University Commencement address when we were on the program together. Read this:

"The increased interest of students in social science courses in our great institutions of higher education all over the country is most significant and helpful. This interest must be motivated and encouraged. The very hope of representative government lies in the consecration of our youth for a task of directing and assisting in this government. Cynical and superior attitude concerning participation in governmental affairs which has been fostered all too frequently by groups of impractical idealists must be replaced by wholesome and sympathetic interest in good government based on intelligent and industrious application of its working principles."

Let us go back again and read another paragraph in that letter to the men who attacked John Ise:

"I know from personal interview with him that he has no sympathy with communism or socialism. He feels that there must be some modification of our present system in order to avoid the evils of these two systems. He is opposed to the economic policies of the present administration."

There is about where Landon stands. He sympathizes with Ise, who believes that "there must be some modification of our present system to avoid the evils of the two obnoxious systems." Here stands a man of the middle course.

Landon Splendidly Tolerant, Gentle and Generous

Let me recite another instance of the Landon tolerance. Norman Thomas, the socialist leader, was lecturing in Topeka a year or so ago. They asked Governor Landon to introduce him. Landon grinned, batted his eye, took the dare. Introducing him, he said, "We must not forget in our political, educational, and religious actions that the great-

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est sentence ever written for democracy was written by Voltaire: 'I do not agree with the word you say, but I will die for your right to say it.' Whereupon he said, "Ladies and gentlemen, let me present Norman Thomas."

Another revealing incident: This spring the Governor's office was invaded by the leaders of a hungar march. The legislature was in special session. The unemployed leaders naturally were not patient men and they talked loud, and who could blame them. He arranged that they should have a hearing before the joint Ways and Means Committee of the two houses of the legislature. He made it his business; he told them what he had done and then in a loud and challenging voice, one of the leaders of the unemployed cried, "Yes, and when you have a delegation of rich men coming to call on you, you get your old woman to fix up a dinner for them." The governor twisted his face in a sympathetic smile and answered, "My old woman is out of town today." And then, as that delegate left, Landon slipped a twenty-dollar bill into his hand as tactfully as he could, trying to keep the others from seeing it, and said in a low voice, "That's the best I can do under the circumstances toward a dinner for you boys. Will you take it and say nothing about it?" The bill accidentally dropped on the floor. The two reached for it. The unemployed leader got it, and the boys outside took it to their women-kind, who were in the hall nearby and used it to feed them that day.

He Won't Temporize

Yet he is no temporizer. He has plenty of good courage. Like most modest men, he is brave. When he went to war, he chose the gas and fire division—the most dangerous place in the army. When the Republican National Convention did not meet his views upon the currency, upon the possibility of amending the constitution to protect women and children and upon a civil service policy, he sent a telegram to the convention to be read before he was nominated. He gave the convention a chance to reject him by setting forth his views before the vote for his nomination.

I have told these stories because they reveal the real man who is seeking leadership of the American people—a brave, wise, kind, tolerant man whose inner qualities of courage, tolerance, and kindness give him that outer seeming of cordial modesty.



International—Chicago

THE GOVERNOR AND HIS FAMILY

Landon's Realism ^{AND HIS} School Record

As Described in Editorials by
William Allen White in the Emporia,
Kansas Gazette

Home Again

I HAVE just returned from a four weeks political tour. Most of the time I have been attending, as a reporter, the two major party great conventions and also reporting hectic days preceding and following each convention. . . .

. . . .And now I come back to reality, to American life. It is the same in a great city as it is on the farm, the daily routine whether in an office, in a tall building or plowing a 40-acre field, fighting chinch bugs or grasshoppers, or going down in a mine to get ore, or working in a forest. All these are real. No falsetto here. No emotional stuff—but hard reality. Now this other stuff, the unrealities of a great mob, the men and women pretending to rule and govern a sovereign people for a few days over four years, is largely nonsense.

Here in Emporia we are within a few miles, in a radius of 50 or 75 miles from where Alfred Landon has spent the most of his life out in the open trading with farmers for leases, erecting tall pyramidal steel or wood oil rigs, watching the drillers, lending a hand when he had to, doing his bit and part, coming in contact every day with real men and women, facing the primal problems of life. Here is reality. And it seems to me that this life in the open, taking long chances with fate, driving decent and honorable bargains with farmers, trading leases to raise the money to bring the raw products out of the earth from which we make our oil and gasoline and a dozen important by-products, it seems to me, as I say, here is reality. Landon has always touched reality. He has always faced life as first hand. He is no theorist, and the Lord be praised, he is no orator.

* * * *

In politics more calamitous blunders have been made by the theory that an orator is a statesman than for any other reason. The oratorical type is the emotional type, expansive, a quick promiser who can diagnose evils and cannot prescribe for them and cure them. The orator has fooled people as an executive ever since the ballot box was invented. They think because a man talks smoothly, charmingly,

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pleasantly and promises largely, gorgeously and with a vehement show of sincerity, that he is going to do what he says. He may just think he is, but he can't.

So the fine thing about Landon is that in the days of his youth, in his formative days, in his twenties, thirties and forties, he has been in touch with hard facts. He has known how easy it is to promise, how hard it is to perform. So he has been a man who for twenty years has had a good name among practical folks. His name was good in his profession. He was chosen leader of his own fellow producers when they had grievances to settle and troubles to overcome. His name has been good at the bank for what his own shrewd judgment thought he could afford to borrow. In politics where for more than twenty years he has been a member of the Republican organization in his county and district, his word has been good among his fellow party workers. When Landon said he would be there and do something, he went there and did it. In the Governor's office he has always touched reality and the test of that is found in a man who can say "no" pleasantly but absolutely firmly. Landon's no has been his great asset in his four years in the Kansas State House. He did not pound the desk to say no. He did not raise his voice to say no. He would always say no something like this:

"I understand your situation, I wish I could help you, but don't make any mistake; I can't do it!" Just that.

Without those last four words an executive gets the reputation for being a liar. If he says: "I wish I could help you," it is taken as a promise. But Landon always adds: "I cannot do it!" and so has held his friends whom he could not help.

The Unfairness of It

[An editorial describing the Kansas School Record]

All over the country, the Democrats are appealing to the school teachers because Kansas stands last in the amount of state aid given to schools. Kansas has stood last for seventy years. It is a settled state policy not to give any state aid to schools. Landon couldn't change it if he would. The legislature, which is composed of farmers, is cold-nosed upon the proposal to give state aid for schools.

Landon's cash and carry law has nothing to do with the case. Under the emergency clause, if school boards wanted to raise salaries, they could appeal to the State Tax commission and get the emergency power to do so. They have never done it. Landon is no more responsible for school salaries in Kansas than Senator McGill or

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Governor Woodring, both of whom live in Kansas and, with Landon, doubtless regret the low salaries, which they are powerless to raise, and the closed schools which they would like to open. Kansas school teachers forget how they defeated Woodring for offering to put a tax limitation law into the constitution of Kansas. Landon stopped that.

But on the whole a state policy reflects state opinion. Take as a parallel, public utilities. New York is the state in the Union which has fewest publicly owned utilities of all the states—standing at the bottom! Kansas leads all the states in the number of publicly owned utilities—standing at the top. Landon had nothing to do with it. Roosevelt had nothing to do with it. It is the genius of the people, local sentiment, and state laws that reflect a state policy of long standing. What if the Republicans would begin abusing Roosevelt because his state was at the bottom of the list in publicly owned utilities after he had been governor four years? It would be unfair. It would be silly. It is just as silly to blame Landon for the Kansas school situation.

Moreover, take schools again. Kansas has many more students in high schools and colleges in proportion to the population than New York. The test of our school system is not the wages of the teachers, but the number of children who get a high school and college education. Landon had nothing to do with our high position in that school matter. Roosevelt, four years governor of New York, had nothing to do with New York's low position. . . .

Five years ago in the legislature, when the income tax law was adopted, the representative from Lyon county, W. L. White, tried with all his might and main, to allocate part of the revenue from the income tax to state aid for rural schools.

But who fought it? The farmers. Who have always fought state aid for rural schools? The farmers.

They think it will be just another tax and they think the long snout of the state will be stuck into the school district, telling them how much to pay teachers. So the farmers back off.

To take this fact that Kansas is 48th in the list of states granting state aid and try to pin it on Landon is one of those things that happens in politics, and you can't quite square it with your ideas of fairness. . . .

SPEECH OF JOHN HAMILTON Nominating Governor Landon at the Cleveland Convention

JOHN HAMILTON, crusading chairman of the Republican National Committee, has been a resident of Kansas for more than twenty years. He early made the acquaintance of Governor Landon. Mr. Hamilton and Governor Landon belonged for a period to different groups of Kansas Republicans and during primary campaigns they usually were on opposing sides. But when each emerged as a leader in his own right, their political paths became one. John Hamilton knows Landon as a political opponent, as a fellow partisan and as a close friend. These relationships have given him the full measure of the man. His speech placing Governor Landon's name in nomination before the Republican National Convention stands as a classic, partly because he did know his man so thoroughly. That speech has a natural place in any panel which interprets Governor Landon to his fellow Americans.

TODAY this nation is faced with the unusual picture of a President of the United States, apparently without concern and at times seemingly by design, using the powers and prerogatives of his high office to undermine the American democracy. Under his administration we have seen the courts circumvented; indefensible waste and extravagance reflected in mounting deficits; the use for partisan purposes of authority and money granted by Congress supposedly to avert suffering and distress. His only fixed policies have fostered monopoly; threatened the nation's credit; driven needed capital from the field of industrial enterprises; increased unemployment; and caused confidence in representative government to reach its ebb. From it all there has come a sense of insecurity, of uncertainty and even of dread, precluding any hope of re-establishing individual security, of a moral re-awakening of our people, or of a permanent rehabilitation of agriculture and industry.

Although we come as Republicans we are here, in fact, representing every man and every woman who glories in the accomplishment of our nation's past and has faith in our nation's future. For this great group of our people the Republican Party provides the sole rallying

SPEECH OF JOHN HAMILTON

ground for united political action. We are, therefore, charged with the responsibility of carrying out our duties here with unquestioned good faith to party and to country, and we cannot be unconscious of the profound obligation that is ours. So grave are the issues, so serious the task confronting us that we must in the fulfillment of that obligation entertain from this platform no suggestions of measures or of men unless brought to us freed from selfish motives and personal ambitions.

Landon is Efficient, Honest, Courageous

If we are to fulfill that obligation, we shall here nominate one whose personal history gives full assurance of a sympathetic understanding of the problems at hand and whose experience in private life and as a public official holds out the promise that these problems will be met with efficiency, honesty and courage. Specifically, it means that he who carries the standard of Americanism in the weeks that are to follow must have a clear conception of the problems of those who labor, gained not from a detached theoretical viewpoint but because he has labored; that he must have a realization of the needs of those in distress, not from the information of others received in surroundings of luxury but from personal contact with those who have been in want; that he shall know the problems of those who cultivate the soil not through what he has learned from others who ponder these questions in academic halls but by having lived among them and having heard the story from their own lips. He must know something of the difficulties and intricacies of American business life, not from economists who have never known the necessity of meeting a payroll but from his own experience in business. He needs must realize that the disbursement of public funds is a public trust and not a political revelry, and he is the more apt to have that realization if his own property has not been bestowed upon him but has been gained through his own efforts.

Fully conscious of the duties and obligations I conceive to be mine as a delegate to this Convention and appreciating the character that we must require of our nominee, I give you the name of a Republican Governor from a Republican State—Alfred Mossman Landon of Kansas.

Personal History is the Story of America

The personal history of Governor Landon is a story of modern America. It is a tribute to individual opportunity and to individual

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character. Governor Landon was no more favored by fortune than millions of his fellow citizens. His education and upbringing were not those which great riches can purchase. His heritage did not include material wealth. But he did share with millions of the rest of us in the mighty fortune with which American principles of life and American opportunities for life have endowed us. Faith in America and confidence in themselves guided Governor Landon's parents while he was a boy, and that same faith has guided him in his activities as a man.

In common with the great majority of his fellow citizens Governor Landon learned from the precept and example of his parents the abiding virtues of work, of honesty, of thrift, of modesty, and of tolerance, and he learned also the excellent and unanswerable reasons why these virtues remain with us while others less substantial fade away.

In common with all of his generation he shared the advantages of our great system of public education. In common with millions of us he was a member of the armed forces of the United States. But more important, because more characteristic of our nation, Governor Landon has shared directly in the work of America. Huge as was the army mobilized for war it was nothing compared to the vast army of workers who have in every generation, by their own initiative and by their own cooperation with each other, built and rebuilt America.

He Knows What It Means to Labor

Governor Landon knows what it means to labor, for under the burning sun of Oklahoma and Kansas he lived and worked in the oil fields with the grizzled veterans of the wire lines, the walking beams and the bull wheels. Governor Landon knows what agriculture means. His business has been with farmers. His customers have been farmers. His neighbors and his friends have been farmers. Governor Landon has known what it means to worry. You worry when the livelihood of yourself and those who work for you depends alone upon your judgment and ability. Governor Landon knows what it means to combat hidden powers working under any name. You have to fight when your independence and your very existence are threatened by great combinations of wealth. Governor Landon as a business man kept his independence. He met his payrolls. He made the business pay. He knows that no business which does not pay can long continue to meet the payroll. He knows the various forces which affect the delicate adjustment of business and the balance of which is essential to our prosperity.

Governor Landon did not amass great wealth from his business

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but he earned his living and he earned a reputation. A reputation for knowing how to work, a reputation for keeping his word, a reputation for being far too intelligent to be fooled and far too courageous to be frightened. It is not without effort that a man can earn his living and such a reputation; and such an achievement is sufficient for most men in their life time. But the tradition of this country is not only that its citizens should work, but that they should also govern themselves. Governor Landon did not wait to assume his responsibilities as a member of a self-governing community, a self-governing state and a self-governing nation. From the time he was old enough to assume the simplest duty of a citizen—the duty to vote, he informed himself, through contact and experience, of the workings of this machinery of self-government.

Experience Qualifies Him for Leadership

It is not, therefore, by chance that Governor Landon received that experience in both business and government which the party and the country recognize as an essential qualification for our leader. He learned the one as he learned the other from the ground up, not with the hope of furthering personal ambitions, but with the purpose of fulfilling his full duty as a citizen of his country.

Governor Landon's initial political success was based upon the opinion his fellow citizens had formed of his knowledge, his reputation and his character as shown in business and on the smaller stages of politics. No one could tell, when he was first elected governor of Kansas, that that knowledge and that reputation and character would be sufficient to allow him to assume with credit the new responsibilities of high public office. That he did so, not only adequately but brilliantly, is a part of the history of my state. He did not change in character as Governor from the man who had run for Governor or from the successful business man interested in local politics. Moreover, under the white light of merciless publicity that glares on every presidential candidate Governor Landon has remained unchanged with the same sense of proportion which he has always had. He is still of the people, and in recent weeks the voice of acclaim arising from the rank and file of men that make up the American democracy has shown that these facts are widely appreciated.

Has Simplified State Administration

In Kansas Governor Landon has made state administration not complex but simple. He has not sought to give the impression that it

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is a task to be assumed only by super men. It is my prediction that as the standard-bearer of his party he will be elected to the presidency and he will meet the multiple problems of that office in a similar spirit, which will create the same feeling among the citizens of the nation; and the creation of that feeling will go far towards restoring the essential confidence of our citizens in themselves and in their government which is the nation's greatest need today.

Through three and one-half years we have heard much talk of emergency. Emergency has been advanced as an argument for the breaking of campaign pledges, for a reckless spending of public funds, for the creation of a bureaucracy, for the appointment of public officials for reasons of personal loyalty rather than merit, and for a bewildering succession of inconsistent and impracticable measures which have retarded recovery and created uncertainty. Yet Governor Landon was elected to his office at the same time that the New Deal administration was elected to power. He faced in his capacity as a state executive emergencies of the same kind that confronted the national executive. He faced also the same question of whether he should in that emergency break the pledges he had made in his campaign, or whether he should keep those pledges. The answers given by the new president and the new governor were different and they were in character. For, as we have seen from the public record of the two of them, their characters were different.

Does Not Break Promises Or Tell Half Truths

There is nothing easier than to break a contract, once you have convinced yourself that contracts can be broken. There is nothing easier than telling a half-truth to cover that broken contract, once you have decided that truth is out of style. There is nothing easier than to promise all things to all men when your conscience is sufficiently elastic. There is nothing easier than to take any means at hand to secure votes, once you have decided that you value votes more than your own self-respect. There is nothing easier than spending money you do not have to pay, and it is easy and amusing to indict and condemn the motives of your opponents, when you have lost your sense of proportion and have become convinced that you and you alone are indispensable to the people.

Adoption of the policies that have ruled in Washington for the last four years would have been just as easy in Kansas. Except for one thing—that Governor Landon had not seen fit to take the first steps toward unreliability. His answer to emergency was different. He decided that even if citizens were losing confidence in all else around

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them, at least they would not have cause to lose confidence in their new governor.

He promised economy; he gave economy. He promised cooperation with the legislature; he cooperated with the legislature. He promised appointments on the basis of merit and he made his appointments on that basis. He swore to uphold the Constitution and he upheld it, for to him the Constitution was not an obstacle to be circumvented but a tool to be rightly used. He avoided personal abuse in his campaign, he avoided it in his administration, and in that administration neither deceit nor malice have had a place. In his personality there is neither intolerance nor egotism. He has never been removed from the body of the common people and I predict that no honor will ever so remove him. He has been and is, simply and plainly, one of the ordinary folk of this country and his conception of his duty in any public place will be to be the servant of all and the master of none.

Substitute Honest Sunlight for Deceptive Shadows

With this record and this character Governor Landon stands before the Republican Party—representative as is no other man in public life today of the resurgence of a demand for individual opportunity and for real self-government in America. The people of our country look to him to lead them back from the deceptive shadows of uncertainty to the honest sunlight of reality.

We have met here as representatives of the Republican Party to adopt a platform and to nominate a candidate. We have adopted our platform. We have pledged ourselves to certain principles and to certain policies. I know that Governor Landon as the nominee of this Party will, when elected, carry out its pledges. Months before this Convention met, he indicated to the Party and to the country the position which he took upon the basic issues confronting us.

He has plainly expressed his concern in the problems of the farmer for he knows it affects every phase of our social and economic life. He knows that the farmer is entitled to receive for his crop a fair price, comparable to the price of the commodity he buys and that he should not have the value of his labor and his produce affected by artificial handicaps. He is determined that there shall be a solution of those problems but not at the cost of the farmer's rights as an American citizen.

Governor Landon has made clear also the basic policies which should be adopted by the government in order that we may realize a business recovery which is permanent. He has made fully clear that the first essential must be the restoration of confidence. Confidence in

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the currency, confidence in the credit of the government, and above all confidence in the honesty and efficiency of the Federal administration. As essentials for creating this confidence, he has proposed a sound and stable monetary system, a more effective budget-making by the executive and a policy of reasonable economy in the expenditures of public funds. He has given his opinion that work for those who want it will come and only come from the assurance of business and industry, that they may plan wisely for the future without fear that their plans may be dislocated at any time by a multitude of wild-cat schemes.

Stands for Equality of Justice, Under Law

No friend of monopoly in any business, Governor Landon has announced without equivocation that we must attack the evils of monopoly frankly and resolutely, and must insist that government keep in force at all times a fair competitive system.

His position on other issues is based upon this same determination to preserve equality—equality of justice under law, and equality for the wage-earner in his negotiation with the wage-payer. Months ago he urged us as Republicans to make it clear to the needy everywhere that the changes we pledge in the administration of relief will in no wise jeopardize the aid which the needy must receive, but will entirely be directed towards bringing order out of chaos by purging the Federal relief administration of partisan waste and incompetence.

Governor Landon, a product of modern America, is aware of the changes which modern American appliances and machine-minded civilization have brought about. He knows that the duty of government is to protect those handicapped by conditions over which they have no control. And in his own words "we have begun to protect childhood but the obligation to protect old age lies straight before us." He has condemned the present administration's debauching of the civil service and has contended that the merit system in government employment must be restored, improved, expanded, and extended to include the opening up of the higher positions.

Believes In and Practices Moderation

Governor Landon's attitude on these questions springs from patriotism and not partisanship. Accordingly he has made his appeal far beyond party lines to those citizens—Republicans, Democrats and Independents alike, who want the government to play its proper part in meeting the problems of our times, but who wish it to do so

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without wasting the substance of the people or endangering their future. He believes that these moderate people want neither radicalism on the one hand nor reaction on the other; that they want performance and not promises; that they want the elimination of the hysterical tone from the government; that they are tired of epithets, evasions, and sophistries; that they want no flouting of the Constitution whether by executive evasion, loose legislation or pernicious propaganda; that they condemn attempts to create class divisions in a country that knows no classes; and that they propose to solve their problems in accordance with the American system. This great group of moderate thinking people make up the vast majority of this nation. It is this group to which Governor Landon has appealed. It is this group which he represents.

The policies of division, despair, and defeat may be effective in the building up of a political machine, but they will never bring a permanent recovery of employment. They will never bring about a permanent restoration of confidence, and they will never help to build the kind of future to which Americans have a right to think their country is entitled and towards which our history and our destiny most surely point.

Governor Landon has dared to voice above the welter of cynicism and despair, created and approved by men in the highest places in the land, a few of the essential facts and essential beliefs by which mankind has been surely guided in past centuries in its slowly succeeding struggle towards material progress and spiritual growth. He has had the courage not to attempt to compete in promises and panaceas with the false prophets who for three and a half years have misled and deluded the public. He has not been afraid to recall our minds to the truth inherent in such supposedly out-worn phrases as the ones which say "there is no substitute for courage" and "his word is as good as his bond." He has been willing to run the risk of being termed old-fashioned in order to reassert his opinion that phrases such as these imply a sense of values we cannot afford to lose.

Have Been Through Bitter Times

We have been through bitter times, and they have left their mark. Our generation has seen the collapse of the financial chicanery that was to make us millionaires, and the collapse of the political chicanery that was to make us kings. Grimly we know that neither can achieve its promise, that the result of one is poverty and of the other loss of our liberties.

From its inception, through its darkest hours, in its worst crises,

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the United States has—and I say it with all knowledge of its meaning—held in its hands the hope of the future progress of the world. Here then is our responsibility. Here is the crisis which we must meet and here is the choice which we must make. Here is a record of a modern American—unpretentious, unassuming, willing to serve—but not eager to dictate. Here is a homely record, if you will, and here are homely virtues and common sense answers. Here is no guilt and here no theatrical dramatics, no overwhelming egotism, no self-righteousness, no pretense of supremacy. Here is a man who is the product of our country and our own time, who has made his way as we have had to make ours, and who has assumed at each turn of his life the obligations imposed on him and who has fulfilled those obligations in each instance with credit. Here is a man of a typical prairie state who has retained within his heart the spirit and the inspirations of those who came before him and of whom Whittier wrote:

"They crossed the prairies as of old
The Pilgrims crossed the sea,
To make the west as they the east
The homestead of the free."

Here is a man, Governor of a great state, with an enviable record in that high office, proving that administration may have vision and yet be honest and efficient.

His Character and Record Meet Needs of Today

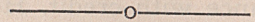
Here are the policies for which he stands and the methods which he proposes, and here is something more besides—the undefinable qualities evidenced in his character and record which meet the needs of the people of this nation.

Behind Governor Landon, as standard-bearer of the Republican Party, will rally a united Party, for he has a genius for creating unity. Behind Governor Landon will rally that great group of citizens without regard to party label, who wish to see performance and not propaganda, confidence and not confusion. Behind Governor Landon, carrying the standard of young America, will rally that great section of the people who wish to repudiate the alien philosophies and out-worn theories and who, without regard to their own age, are young enough to have faith that we can build a greater country by carrying forward the dynamic American doctrines of hope, of tolerance, and of effort. With Governor Landon's leadership, we can assure a Republican victory in the coming election, and under Governor Landon's leadership

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as President of the United States, we can gain a national victory over the forces of depression and despair.

Here and today the Republican Party makes a choice for itself and for America. Let us then reflect the worthiest traditions of a mighty past and make certain of a mightier future by meeting our obligations for that choice with the one man who can rally to a glorious cause the rank and file of all America, and that man is Alfred Mossman Landon.



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